

And learns though he groans under penury's ban,  
That freedom to think is the birthright of man.

Be wise, oh, ye rulers of earth,  
And close not your ears to his voice,  
Nor allow it to warn you in vain;  
True freedom of yesterday's birth  
Will march on its way and rejoice,  
And never be conquered again;  
The day hath a tongue, aye, the hours utter speech;  
Wise, wise will ye be if ye learn what they teach.

CARL F. HENRY.

Cleveland, O.

### THE MAYOR OF CLEVELAND ON OHIO POLITICS.

An interview with Hon. Tom L. Johnson, reported by a staff correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, and published in the Tribune of October 1.

"John McLean is a contamination for the Democratic party, and the sooner we get rid of him the better it will be for our interests in Ohio. He represents nothing but himself, and he stands for nothing but boodle in politics. He is a nice man personally, and there is no objection to him on that score, but from the lowest possible standpoint—that of expediency—the Democratic party in Ohio ought to be rid of him. He has been a burden for years and has undoubtedly lost us the State in the past.

"I say that, from the mere standpoint of expediency, McLean must be thrown overboard before we can win. For every vote we lose from his immediate following we will gain ten from the independent vote of the state. That independent vote will never come to us so long as the Democratic party is charged up with John R. McLean and what he represents in politics."

In this breezy fashion, and with a candor characteristic of the man, Mayor Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland, talked as he settled himself in a sleeping car seat on a night train from Cleveland to Cincinnati, to which latter place he was hurrying to speak before the county convention.

"One moment, Mr. Mayor, may I quote you as to what you have said about Mr. McLean?"

"Of course you may quote me; that's why I arranged to give you this interview on a railroad train—because I had no time to talk to you in Cleveland."

Mayor Johnson had been out for two weeks on the road with his circus tent and his red automobile, and had returned to Cleveland for a single day with his family. He was confronted with an entire afternoon's work, dedi-

cating a monument to Kossuth, where he was on the same platform with Gov. Nash and his constitutional political enemy, Mark Hanna. They took all the afternoon, and yet this man who had not been home for two weeks consented when he was asked over a long distance telephone to take a night train for Cincinnati, speak before the county convention there, and then take a day train for Upper Sandusky to meet his date with the circus aggregation at sundown, thus crossing the State twice within 24 hours, and doing it all without a murmur, and as if he liked it. It was this sudden engagement which forced him to disarrange his plans and to invite the correspondent of the Tribune to accompany him on the train when it left Cleveland.

Glib of tongue as Tom Johnson undoubtedly is, he possesses physical endurance to an extraordinary degree, and the fat little mayor can talk half the day, ride an automobile the other half, walk when the gasoline gives out, and then ride on a railroad train half a night without losing either his temper, his voice or his appetite.

He has his subjects at his finger ends, but he is a mighty busy man, is Tom Johnson, and it is a hard matter to secure an opportunity for an interview. When he talks, especially if he and his auditor are sitting face to face in a sleeping car during the still and late watches of the night, he has a way of grabbing his hearer's knee and accentuating his good points with a friendly pinch, while his broad, round face breaks into a merry smile, as if he knew he was getting off a good joke on some one.

He is so full of his subject of taxation that he is almost a monomaniac, but he is not at all a mountebank, as many people believe him to be. He is thoroughly earnest, apparently honest, and certainly the bravest and frankest man that ever talked politics to a newspaper. He does not hesitate to mention names, or places, or figures, and is never afraid of being reported, provided always that he is reported correctly. The quotation given above is verbatim, and it expresses Mayor Johnson's views as to the McLean faction with entire frankness.

When it was suggested to him that the Cincinnati Enquirer, Mr. McLean's powerful newspaper, was not attacking him, but was merely reporting his speeches, Mayor Johnson said: "Yes, that has been a feature of the campaign. The Enquirer people have said they propose to give me all the rope I needed so that I would hang myself with it. I am glad they are giving me

the rope, and I'll take chances on the hanging. The fact of the matter is that John McLean is a coward, and he is not willing to get into a political fight with me. I have not concealed my sentiments, and I honestly believe that we cannot hope to redeem Ohio until we have driven McLeanism out of politics."

When asked to define briefly the principal features of his campaign, which of course is his attack on the unequal tax on railroads, Mr. Johnson said:

"I have previously charged that Mark Hanna, Senator Foraker, 'Boss' Cox, of Cincinnati; Gov. Nash, and the republican leaders in the legislature, entered into an actual compact to perpetuate the present infamous franchise system. If the franchises for street railways in Cleveland and Cincinnati were put up at public auction without any reference to tracks, rolling stock, or buildings, the franchises alone would sell for enough to pay the actual public debts of those two cities.

"The great question before us in Ohio now on which I am attempting to make my fight is that of home rule for our city. What I am trying to do particularly is to show the glaring inequalities under the present taxing system, and I charge here, now, that Mark Hanna, Senator Foraker, Gov. Nash and the other republican leaders entered into a compact to perpetuate this system of robbery of the people, and are at this moment seeking to pass a law through the legislature for this purpose.

"Mr. Hanna's railroad in Cleveland is assessed at only six per cent. of its actual value. The Toledo street railroads are even worse, for their assessment is only four per cent. of their value. The steam railroads are assessed an average of not over 20 per cent. of their actual value. The farmer and the small householder pay, as is shown by official figures, on an assessment which ranges from 60 to 100 per cent. of the actual value of the property. The capital stock of banks is by general custom assessed at 66 per cent. of its value, although the law requires 100 per cent.

"We have taken up the steam railroads because they are tangible property which go into every county of the State, and are not subject to local conditions. We insist that these railroads should be forced to pay at least as much as the small farmer, or as the capital stock in a bank. We are going after all forms of public service corporations, but just now the steam railroads are being made the basis of at-

tack throughout the country counties of the state."

"What is your method of campaigning in this regard?"

"In every county I go into I hunt up the auditor. I ask him how much he assesses the railroads in his county, whether he travels on a pass, and whether he treats the railroads in any different way than he treats the farmer. It sounds kind of cheeky, of course, and some of the auditors have a good chance to tell me it's none of my business, but when they do I report these facts to the meeting in the tent, made up of neighbors of that auditor, and I depend on them to make it warm for him.

"You must understand that in Ohio each railroad is taxed by a board composed of an auditor from each county through which the road passes. That board decides on the ratio of assessment at so much a mile, which is thereupon distributed among the different counties. It is in the power of the auditors to raise these assessments, but every railroad in the state maintains a so-called 'land agent,' who is nothing more than an 'auditor agent.' Many of the auditors travel on passes, and are under constant obligation to the railroads whose property they are called upon to assess.

"I am attacking both the Republican and Democratic auditors, and it is funny to see the way they squirm around to escape responsibility. In one case I asked an auditor how he had assessed a little railroad 11 miles long, which was all in his own county, so that he was the whole board. He put the assessment at \$37,500. I asked him if he did not know that in the recorder's office next door there was official evidence of a mortgage on that road for \$375,000, showing that the owners would not probably sell for half a million. He said he did not know it, whereupon I said and repeated in the tent: 'If you don't know that you don't know enough to be auditor, and you ought to go back to plowing.' This is the style of my campaign so far as the auditors are concerned, and it seems to take with the people a good deal better than national issues do."

"How are the Republican leaders responsible for the acts of individual auditors who may be either Republicans or Democrats?"

"It all comes from the refusal of the legislature to correct these inequalities by law. We have appealed to them and yet have been met by nothing except hostile instead of friendly legislation. Take the Nickel Plate road as an example. Its total assessment per

mile of main track and branches is \$36,260 in Indiana and only \$13,713 in Ohio, or much less than half as much. I cannot understand why this road should be gold plated in Indiana and only nickel plated in Ohio.

"I had prepared by Prof. Bemis a complete and reliable list showing the difference in the assessments as between Indiana and Michigan on the one side, and Ohio on the other, on railroads which are identical, except that in Ohio there is a larger percentage of second track siding and, naturally of rolling stock than in either of the other two States, and the result is startling. The legislature has it in its power to correct this inequality and to force the auditors to do their duty, but it has persistently refused to do so, and this I charge is a proof of my statement, made a year ago and more, that the two Ohio senators, the governor, and the Republican leaders generally, were in a compact to protect all the great corporations at the expense of the people.

"After I was elected mayor of Cleveland I set to work to readjust and advance the assessments of all local public service corporations, including the street car system, of which Senator Mark Hanna is the actual head. Instead of being sustained in such a work as this, the state officials were all against me.

"I was elected by the people of Cleveland as their mayor, although I was a Democrat, for this express purpose, and yet the State government has prevented the execution of every plan for the proper taxation of Mr. Hanna's street railway, which, as I have told you, is assessed at only six per cent. of its actual market value, and the mere franchise for which on a 25-year basis is worth enough to pay off the debt of the city of Cleveland.

"We sought to issue brief franchises to competing companies on parallel streets on a three-cent fare basis; thereupon the attorney general of the State brought suit to attack our charter. He was entirely successful in showing it to be unconstitutional. No one ever attempted to attack it until I began to force the local corporations to pay their share of the taxes. Then the charter was successfully attacked, but the Republicans, like Samson in the temple, brought the whole building down about their ears. They were merely seeking to clip my wings here in Cleveland, and this was done at the personal dictation of M. A. Hanna. The court, however, not only upset our charter, but knocked out every municipal government in the State of Ohio.

"The legislature is now in session, and it is seeking to perpetuate all the evils of the old system. They propose to govern the cities by boards for the express purpose of evading responsibility. Boss Cox, in Cincinnati, prefers a board, of course, to any single responsible Republican official. By dividing the responsibility among four or five men he distracts attention, and riot and extravagance in public affairs naturally go unpunished, because the people cannot hold any one man responsible."

"How do you propose to remedy this when you get your own way?"

"There is only one way I can see, and that is absolute home rule for cities. You have a measure of home rule in Chicago, but it is not enough. Here in Ohio the State government, through its legislature, assumes to dictate to us just how we shall run our cities. The extent to which this is carried is absurd. They even fix the wages of our policemen, so that I am unable to pay the man who daily risks his life in dangerous police duty any more than a broken-down old copper who is not fit to watch a hole in the sidewalk. It is generally recognized that no city council or local government should have the power to issue bonds, and thereby run the people into debt without referring the question to a popular vote.

"That is a correct general principle. Yet when valuable public service franchises are about to expire the Ohio legislature proposes to have those franchises renewed without the slightest chance on the part of the people to express themselves on the subject. This is a gross wrong, and one which is clearly manifest to every honest man.

"The so-called Nash code, and the curative acts now being pushed in the legislature by Hanna, Foraker, Nash, Cox, and other leaders, have for their sole object the perpetuation of the present franchises to street railroads and similar corporations. It is an outrage upon the people, which we believe they will resent, and we are seeking to make our entire campaign on the theory that no franchise in a city be granted by a legislature nor by a city council without the approval of the people.

"You cannot buy the people at any price. They are often fooled, but they are never bought. In place of the unfair and corrupt law which the republican leaders are seeking to force upon the people, we advocate merely a general incorporation law for cities, permitting each municipality to adopt and execute such a form of city govern-

ment as is best adapted to local conditions. Home rule for cities and just taxation for railway property for the country are the principal points of our campaign."

"Are you seeking to avoid national issues entirely?"

"Not at all. Whenever I am asked about my views on general matters I never hesitate to express them. I have found, however, that the people to whom I talk in my circus tent are far more interested in local issues than in national ones. I have confined myself to these local issues, because they are matters which come up before me day after day as mayor of Cleveland, and I have sought to bring these issues before the people at large because it is only through the legislature that we can correct these evils, so that this local issue is a State issue, although it ought not to be."

"You are running on a State platform which specifically indorses the Kansas City declaration, including the free silver plank. How do you reconcile that with your own position on the money question?"

"Everybody knows, who knows me at all, that I was not and am not a silver man. The theory of 16 to 1 is as dead as a door nail, and everybody knows it. Aside from that I believe the Democratic platform at Kansas City a great declaration of Democratic doctrine. When I say that 16 to 1 is a dead one, I don't mean at all that the money question is dead also; quite the contrary, I think the time has come to put a stop to the influence of Wall street on the treasury of the United States.

"There is a tendency towards expanding and perpetuating our national bank currency. You and I take that currency because it is based on government bonds—that is to say, the credit of the United States and not the credit of the banks is what floats the currency. I believe that all notes ought to be issued by the United States government, without the intermediary of a national bank, which gets all the benefit, while the government assumes all the responsibility. I do not believe in fiat money, by any manner of means.

"I would have the government issue notes, based on its legitimate power to pay. I think congress should fix the amount of both bonds and notes to be issued by the government. That is as far as congress should go. The notes should be convertible into bonds at will and the bonds into notes. This would give the necessary elasticity. When money was tight the interest bearing obligations would become non-interest bear-

ing circulating medium, and when people were looking for investments the bonds could easily and readily be substituted for the unnecessary surplus notes. The idea is not mine, and it is an old one, but it seems to me that the convertible note will solve many of the problems which face us to-day."

"Have you changed your views on the tariff?"

"Not in the slightest degree, I am a free trader of the rankest kind. I would abolish all custom houses. I would not have a tariff even for revenue. I am willing to admit that in some cases the protection theory does build up a certain infant industry, but I assert that it does that at the expense of the country. Why should we perpetuate and propagate poor-houses? If some fellow were to devise a scheme for raising bananas in hothouses some other fellow would get up a tariff to protect that industry, and forever afterwards, when we undertook to put bananas on the free list we should be charged with attacking a promising infant American industry. I believe that a tariff in any shape is in restraint of trade. I believe it is better for us to buy our bananas by selling our shoes and our agricultural machinery instead of trying to raise them under glass. I do not believe in any taxation except the tax on monopoly and privilege."

"Do you preach your Henry George idea to the farmers, and if so how do they take it?"

"I do not talk Henry George or his systems of taxation only because we are carrying on a campaign on local issues. My meetings are peculiar in the degree to which they invite honest questions. Any man who comes into my circus tent has a right to ask questions and now and then attempt to corner me in regard to my single tax theories. There is no concealment in that regard.

"I thoroughly believe in Mr. George's theory of taxation and everyone ought to understand it by this time. I would tax the street railroad or the electric light plant or the corner lot or anything else which is in the nature of a privilege given by the people either to an individual or to a corporation.

"You and I are both too sleepy to go into a long sermon on Henry George, but I can simply say that since I have been mayor of Cleveland I have vetoed every ordinance seeking to establish a license system. I have done this because I believe of necessity that licenses in every shape are wrong in principle, being a taxation upon trade and commerce, from the nature of things.

"When the farmers understand this question they are not at all afraid of the bugaboo of Henry George. They know that the taxable value of the land itself on which their farms are conducted is practically nothing providing one eliminates from that the value of their stock, their houses, their agricultural implements, and the various improvements they have themselves put on the land. In the cities, however, a million dollars an acre is not an extravagant valuation for the land, because real estate must be valued not by its size but by the use to which it can be put.

"The small farmer and householder has so little at stake, although comparatively so much, that he cannot afford to spend much time or money presenting his claims for a lower assessment. The result always is that the small holdings pay much more proportionately than the larger ones. An honest auditor or assessor can fix the value of a little house or a farm with reasonable accuracy, whereas he would be completely staggered for want of technical knowledge if he were to attempt to estimate the value of Mark Hanna's street railway property in Cleveland. In all honesty he could make a mistake of millions, and no one could blame him for it."

The attention of Mayor Johnson was called especially to some figures given by Gov. Nash to the Tribune correspondent, in which it was shown that the city of Cleveland as managed by Mr. Johnson had a tax rate of \$3.15, while in Columbus, another Democratic city, the rate was \$2.75, and in Cincinnati, admitting that Mr. Cox ruled it under Republican auspices, the rate was only \$2.26.

"I am mighty glad you called my attention to those figures. Gov. Nash is a good man, but the last fellow who gets at him makes the best impression. Did you ever try the experiment of poking your finger into a bag of salt on one side and then see how the dent would come out when you poked your finger into the bag on the other side? That's Nash all over. He honestly would not have given those figures if he had known what they represented. The tax rate in Cleveland is higher than it is in Cincinnati merely because our assessment is far lower than it ought to be.

"We have much more money and a much larger population than Cincinnati, and yet Cincinnati raises annually \$300,000 for city purposes more than we do strictly for city purposes on the ordinary tax list. Besides that, they derive a revenue of \$600,000 from licenses.

They license everything in Cincinnati, and I have refused to license anything in Cleveland. The result is that Cincinnati spends \$900,000 more for city purposes than Cleveland does, although we have greater wealth, greater territory, and greater population. Gov. Nash probably doesn't know this. When he hears of it he probably will stop making such statements as he gave to you and will be sorry he invited the comparison."

In closing his interview Mayor Johnson made some interesting notes on the difference between political bosses and political idols. With special reference to two types, George B. Cox, of Cincinnati, as a boss, and Gov. Pingree, of Michigan, with whom Johnson had several stormy episodes, as a political idol.

"I don't know Cox well, but I do know his reputation as a boss and why he succeeds. A political boss must have two essentials to success. He must possess the elements of leadership and he must also be absolutely true to his word. A political idol must also possess the elements of leadership to a large extent, but he must be especially ready for a fight at any time. He need not be always a man of his word. Pingree, whom I liked, was not at all a man of his word, but he had the quality of putting a thought in an original way to express just what the people had attempted to say themselves, but had failed.

"I have talked to you now so long that my throat is getting hoarse and if I keep it up much longer some of these fellows in the berths back of us will get to throwing shoes, so I'll say good night."

**"YOUR FATHERS KILLED THE PROPHETS, AND YE BUILD THEIR TOMBS."**

Lately, with mingled pride and pity,  
The genial mob of London city  
Thronged 'round the heroes of the day,  
Botha, De Wet and Delarey.  
With cheers and shouts of "Sirs, well done,  
You fought like lions, though we won;  
And England never fails to show  
All honor to a gallant foe."  
Just then some idiot, in the press,  
Whose ignorance would make you guess  
A brother of the Seven Sleepers,  
Cried: "'Arry, which of 'em is Scheepers?"  
—London Speaker of Sept. 13.

The published pictures of Brother Baer leave no doubt whatever that he said it.—Chicago Chronicle.

Hothead—I claim that I am as good as any man.

Bighed—That's not the point. Do you admit that you are no better than any other man? — Toronto Moon.

**BOOK NOTICES.**

**THE HISTORY OF IRELAND.**

Dr. P. W. Joyce has done a real service in writing what he calls "A Child's History of Ireland" (Longman's). He says in his preface: "Though the book has been written for children, I venture to express a hope that it may be found sufficiently interesting and instructive for the perusal of older people." This hope he has undoubtedly fulfilled, and so well that it may be unfortunate that he did not call the book simply a history of Ireland, as older people may be deterred by the title from reading it. His style is simple and familiar, as indeed all style should be, whether for children or grown folks; and in 500 pages he has given us a sufficiently complete history of the Irish people down to the death of O'Connell, in 1847.

The early history of the country, its legends, traditions, customs, are told with interesting fullness; and the illustrations, which are very happily chosen, add greatly to the value of the book. We have rarely seen a history better illustrated. The author has very properly taken as much pains with his illustrations as with his text. The insight which he gives of early Irish art—in writing and illumination, in gold, silver and bronze work—is greatly enhanced by the apt illustrations gathered from various sources.

The history of Ireland is too little known. It is full of interest, full of heroism, and full of lessons. By the measure of force the Irish have gone down before the Anglo-Saxon oppressor, but they have never been subdued. Except as to external government they are, in sentiment, in ideals, in patriotism, as distinct a people as any nation on earth. Force may exterminate, but it can never assimilate; and Ireland will never be English. Perhaps, as Father Sheehan intimates in his great novel, "Luke Delmege," Ireland will yet have a great part to play in the higher development of humanity.

We can heartily commend this work of Dr. Joyce to any one who may wish to get, in a compact and yet entertaining form, the leading facts and characteristics of Irish history.

If any fault is to be found, it is that the desire for impartiality has sounded the rehearsal of wrongs in too calm a note. Think, for example, of all that is involved in the following statement: "Near many of the villages in various parts of Ireland were 'commons,' stretches of grassy upland or bog, which were free to the people to use for grazing or for cutting turf, and formed one of their chief ways of living. These had belonged to them time out of mind, being in fact the remains of the Commons Land of ancient days; but about this period the landlords had begun to enclose them as private property, chiefly for grazing." One cannot but wish the author had felt justified in using more forceful terms in writing of this and other acts of Irish landlords. The Irish land question is indeed one long story of devilish wrong and cannot be written truly except in righteous indignation. Happily, its true story has been told. Henry George has told it in words of prophetic eloquence, the echoes of which, though sometimes faint, will continue to be heard through Ireland till justice be done.

J. H. DILLARD.

**PERIODICALS.**

—Wilshire's Magazine (Toronto) for October opens with a "heart-to-heart talk," by the editor, to Mayor Johnson of Cleveland on the basis of a friendly letter from Mr. Johnson. The letter and the comment make an interesting contrast of socialism, as represented by the magazine, with the single tax principle as briefly stated by Mayor Johnson.

—The Westminster Review for September is as usual far ahead of all its competitors in the freshness, originality and liberality of its contents. The article by Frederick W. Mueller, entitled the "Horns of the Dilemma," is a strong plea for free trade—and more. Replying to a recent article in

the Fortnightly Review, the author says: "Compared with the combinations of capital wielded by these concerns (the trusts), Mr. Henry George's 'bugbear of landlordism' is, in the mind of Dr. Crozier, dwarfed into insignificance. This is a pity, for with apologies to Dr. Crozier, it is an important point. Without land there is scarcely a concern in the world capable of amassing overpowering capital. Without it nearly every trust, every monopoly in America or elsewhere, would fall to pieces like a house of cards." The article, while applying especially to England, may well be read by free

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